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PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society



The Haldimand Negotiations
Annual Meeting
Reports
Vermont Census of 1800

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Montpelier Vermont

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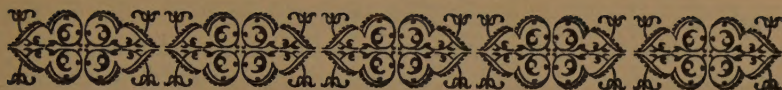
1931

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VOL. II No. I

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HALDIMAND NEGOTIATIONS

By Henry Steele Wardner

This address was delivered at the public meeting of the Vermont Historical Society, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on the evening of January 20th, 1931. The large gathering was called to order by President Spargo, who spoke briefly. Governor Stanley C. Wilson introduced the speaker. After the address, President Spargo expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Wardner, and requested a copy for publication in the Proceedings.

Many interpretations of the Haldimand Correspondence have been made by different historians, viewing history with their own prejudices, and the prejudices of their times. It has been stated that the leaders in Vermont were shrewdly deceiving the British for the sole advantage of the Colonies; and that the conduct of Vermont's first citizens was nothing short of treason to the Colonies. Mr. Wardner has cut through the prejudices which made for these interpretations, and demonstrated the true situation at the time, as closely, the editor thinks, as it is ever possible to reconstruct an historical situation. The result illustrates the value of repeated examination of our historical dogma, as our knowledge of facts increases, and our prejudices wane.

GOVERNOR Wilson; Mr. President and Members of the Vermont Historical Society; Members of the General Assembly of Vermont and other guests of the evening:

It is peculiarly pleasant to me to be asked to speak in Vermont's State House because my grandfather, Allen Wardner,

nearly a century ago, was one of the committee of three to fix upon the site for this building, to choose its plans and to supervise its construction. Tradition, for the truth of which I cannot vouch, has it that he was largely responsible for the careful study which the committee made of other state capitols and that he insisted on the employment of a skilled architect thoroughly acquainted with classic forms of building. Speaking in this assembly chamber, I am mindful of the fact that both of my grandfathers and three other lineal ancestors of mine served their towns in Vermont's House of Representatives. For me, therefore, this occasion is a notable one.

The subject which the President of the Society wishes me to discuss tonight is that singular episode in Vermont history commonly called "The Haldimand Negotiations." Most in this audience know, I presume, that these negotiations were carried on for a period of years during the American Revolution between citizens of Vermont and General Frederick Haldimand, commander of the British forces in Canada. Others in the British military service besides General Haldimand participated in the correspondence and parleys, and the British ministry in England was aware of the matter and made suggestions; but Haldimand himself on behalf of his government had the business personally in charge.

The object of the British was to persuade the people of Vermont to return to their former allegiance to Great Britain. Of that there is no doubt. The aims of the negotiators on the part of Vermont in treating with Haldimand on this proposal are not so free from doubt. Vermont historians, with one marked exception, from Samuel Williams who brought out his first edition in 1794, down to Mr. Crockett, in 1921, would have us understand that Vermont, for the purpose of averting an invasion from Canada, was deceiving the British into the mistaken belief that the people of this State were really preparing to have their State become a British province. The negotiations lasted for three years. What the British sought they sought with frankness and without equivocation as a war measure. They were nervously on edge with suspicion of Vermont's motives. Our Vermont historians say that for three years Vermont met the British overtures with such perfect acting that Vermont's bad faith and duplicity were not only completely concealed but that when

peace was declared the most friendly relations still existed between Vermont and the Canadian Government. This theory, so generally advanced and militantly upheld by our Vermont historians, has not gained unanimous or even general acceptance; but is it, or is it not, sound? That is the difficult question on which I am to try to shed light. To answer it conclusively, to your satisfaction and my own, I do not promise.

The diffidence with which I approach the subject is the greater because of my knowledge that Professor Clarence W. Rife of Hamline University has given years of study to what he terms "*The Separatist Movement in Vermont*" and is about to publish a volume thereon. This work I have not seen, although I have had the advantage of reading in the New England Quarterly for October, 1929, Professor Rife's scholarly article interpreting some of the moods and utterances of Ethan Allen during this sensational period. To explore at all these poorly charted and somewhat dark passages of Vermont's turbulent youth one should muster enough courage to face and state the facts as they appear. The investigator must bring himself into agreement with that fearless writer—a grandson of the sixth president of the United States and a great-grandson of the second—who said that "the truth of history is a sacred thing—a thing of far greater importance than its dignity. And the truth of history should not be sacrificed to sentiment, to patriotism, or to filial piety."

Let us orient for ourselves the military situation in Vermont in 1780. Little forts had been built by Vermont soldiers at points such as Castleton, Rutland, Pittsford, Barnard and Bethel. If one extends that line to Newbury one has a general idea of what was then the northern limit of territory under Vermont or Continental military control. Ticonderoga and Lake Champlain were in the hands of the Canadian wing of the British army. All Vermont to the north of the line I have sketched was virtually deserted by the settlers. For example, Governor Chittenden and the Allens, large landowners on the Onion River in the vicinity of Williston, Burlington and Colchester, had moved down to Arlington and Sunderland. Except for a few hundred Vermonters in Seth Warner's Continental Regiment, and, possibly, a handful in other regiments of the Continental forces, Vermont had under arms but two hundred and thirty men. At that time no Continental troops were assigned for Vermont's protection.

The head of Vermont's military establishment was Ethan Allen, Brigadier General of Militia, who, if I judge him accurately, was the most potent figure in the state.

One other feature of the military situation needs to be mentioned. Ira Allen, who always had the narrator's ambition to tell a story for all it was worth, repeatedly averred that General Haldimand had in his command not less than 10,000 troops. Governor Chittenden, more conservative by thirty per cent., put Haldimand's force at 7,000. As a matter of fact, Haldimand at no time had a large surplus of soldiers beyond the number necessary to garrison Canada. He could and did make short, small, and troublesome sallies into the States, but his letters home reveal that he could make no considerable or sustained campaign. To back up Vermont, in case the Negotiations resulted in a treaty, he thought he would have available 3,000 men. The disaster which had attended Burgoyne's fine army of nearly 8,000 in 1777 had taught Haldimand and the revolutionists much. Even to repel an invasion of Canada, in case there should be one, Haldimand wrote to England in the autumn of 1781, that after manning the forts "I cannot assemble more than 2,500 men capable of keeping the field two months." The men of Vermont, if united and competently led, could probably have vanquished on Vermont soil any army Haldimand could send into the State; but Vermont was pretty much in the dark as to just how weak Haldimand's military establishment actually was, and Vermont was certainly politically unable at that period to unite for long all her strength in support of any considerable movement whatever.

Vermont's political situation, which theretofore had been normally precarious and frequently chaotic, had become critical in 1780. Vermont had never been one of the united or confederated colonies or states and had been refused representation in their Congress. In theory, Vermont was their ally in the War and actually had rendered substantial service. The claim of New York to the whole of Vermont had been a menace since 1764, and still was. If New York should finally prevail, then every Vermont settler, unless he were among the few whose land titles were protected by New York patents, faced ejection. New Hampshire and Massachusetts, which had been reasonably tolerant of Vermont's assumption of statehood, had become less

friendly. In certain New Hampshire circles a movement had been started to make with New York a trade whereby those two states, subject to the approval of Congress, should divide Vermont between them by making the ridge of the Green Mountains the western boundary of New Hampshire and the eastern boundary of New York. Ethan Allen and Jonas Fay suspected that such a plot was forming when they jointly prepared the pamphlet called *A Concise Refutation* which was published in January, 1780. This was the pamphlet which announced to the world that Vermont held a "charter of liberty from Heaven" and was "determined not to submit Heaven Born Freedom to the arbitrament of any tribunal below the stars" —not even Congress. Mr. John Pell, in his *Life of Ethan Allen*, asks if at this moment, when Ethan Allen was defying Congress, he had an inkling that favor might be found with Great Britain. The question is relevant because General Sir Henry Clinton, as Commander-in-Chief of the British army in America, was advertising in the public prints his authority to treat with any state, separately, for peace.

There are other features of Vermont's political situation in 1780 to be considered. In the southeastern part of the State, in what is now Windham County, there had been, ever since Vermont's assumption of independence, a formidable party favorable to New York. Another party, in the towns north of Windsor along the Connecticut, was only conditionally loyal to Vermont—the condition being that Vermont would take in some of the towns of western New Hampshire. Either of these parties by itself was a danger. The existence of either party within the territorial limits of the State necessarily impaired Vermont's spirit of unity. This fact, of course, was recognized by the people of Vermont and by her neighbors on all sides. It is the subject of chapters in Vermont's history.

But there were, in 1780, still other lines of division of political sentiment among the people of Vermont. As we look back from today's viewpoint and with today's perspective we can possibly see these lines of division a little more clearly than did our early historians. Let us grant that the Vermonters as a whole were a homogeneous race with many traits and habits in common: yet knowing the breed as we do, we cannot believe that they all looked alike, were all equally virtuous or equally intelligent, or that they all thought alike on the outstanding issues of the

times. To take concrete cases and to name certain of Vermont's citizens of 1780, I accept it as a fact that Colonel Seth Warner, Colonel Samuel Herrick, Colonel Thomas Johnson and General Jacob Bayley were representative of those Vermonters who thought the winning of American Independence the chief work of the day. I take it equally as a fact that Ethan Allen, Governor Chittenden and Dr. Jonas Fay were leaders of that element which thought that the first duty was to safeguard the political integrity of Vermont. Hardly anybody will question that Judge Samuel Wells, Judge Luke Knoulton, Colonel John Peters, Colonel William Marsh, James Breakenridge, and Captain Justus Sherwood felt that loyalty to the Crown was the wise if not the only moral course to follow.

I mention this Tory or Loyalist party last, not because I feel towards it that contempt which, according to tradition, prompted the victors at Bennington to bury the Tory dead last of all, but because I have something in particular to say of that party. Indeed, as I mention those Vermont names, I feel bound to confess that for the Loyalist, Captain Sherwood, an early settler of New Haven, Vermont, I hold the same affectionate regard that I do for Ethan Allen or General Jacob Bayley. The time has come when we may dare to speak with charity of those Americans who for the sake of what they thought was right took the side opposite to that taken by your forefathers and mine in the War of Independence.

Was the Tory or Loyalist party in the American Colonies a large one? President John Adams's estimate that from the beginning to the end of the Revolution, one-third—that is one million out of three millions of the inhabitants—were opposed to the American cause has never seriously been questioned. What sort of people composed this Tory or Loyalist party? The answer is that it embraced members of every class and type, from best to worst, then to be found on this continent. Foremost were the colonial officials of high rank, such as Governor Hutchinson of Massachusetts and Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire—both of them American born and educated, both of them upright men; next the clergy and members of the Church of England; third, the conservatives of the professional and capitalistic classes; fourth, college presidents like Cooper of Kings (now Columbia University) and a great number of

graduates of Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton and Pennsylvania. Speaking of this latter group or class I have never failed to be moved at reading what Professor Moses Coit Tyler had to say in his *Literary History of the American Revolution* when he mentioned the list of three hundred and ten Tories banished by Massachusetts in 1778—a list which included more than sixty graduates of Harvard College. Professor Tyler says: "To anyone at all familiar with the history of colonial New England that list of men, denounced to exile and loss of property on account of their opinions, will read almost like the bead-roll of the oldest and noblest families concerned in the founding and upbuilding of New England civilization." Of course, many Loyalists, like many of the Whigs, were actuated by base motives. Some merely wanted to be on what they guessed was the safe side. Some thought that Great Britain was sure to win, and that if they stood by the Crown their loyalty would ultimately entitle them to share in the confiscated estates of the revolutionists. But, as Professor Howard wrote in his *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, among the 200,000 Loyalist men and women "who went into exile or died in the struggle, were many who in a broad sense were true patriots and who suffered as truly as any of their adversaries for conscience's sake."

Let us remember, also, that the whole of Canada—as much a British colony as any of the thirteen which declared for independence—remained throughout the Revolution loyal to the Crown as she is today.

I am aware that Vermont historians insist that Vermont had few Tories or Loyalists and that most of that element had been weeded out by 1780. Well, we may be pretty sure that Judge Wells and Judge Knoulton whom I have just mentioned, were not isolated examples; and if we turn to the article on the Loyalists in the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* we find the statement that the New England Tories were chiefly in Connecticut and Vermont. As to Connecticut this is true beyond question. Bear in mind, then, that the majority of Vermont's settlers were of Connecticut stock.

Our Vermont historians point out as the beginning of British overtures to Vermont a letter written to Ethan Allen under date of March 30, 1780, by Colonel Beverly Robinson, a Loyalist officer of the British Army stationed in southern New York.

That letter proposed that Vermont by changing sides might be constituted as a separate British province with a military organization under Allen's command. The letter was received and never answered. As a matter of fact, General Sir Henry Clinton in the previous year had sent to Ethan Allen oral messages of similar tenor. As late as ten years ago, Mr. W. H. Crockett, in his *History of Vermont*, wrote that "the accounts of the early stages of these negotiations are rather meagre." Well might he say so, and for a variety of reasons: first, because, as is stated in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, the Vermont negotiators were careful not to leave on record any very significant traces of their policies and practices in the intercourse with the British; second, that such original notes as were kept by Governor Chittenden and his Council were not in any part entered in the permanent journal of the Council for a matter of eight and one-half years and were then apparently destroyed; third, because not until I obtained from the British Record Office in London in 1922, a photostat of Captain Justus Sherwood's official report of his initial diplomatic conference with Ethan Allen has any historian included that document in any of the several treatises on the Haldimand Negotiations.

So important a link in the chain of Vermont's history is Sherwood's journal and so helpful a key in unlocking some of the secrets of the Haldimand Negotiations that I felt obliged for the time to lay aside all other historical work that I might prepare and publish in *THE VERMONTER* this journal with proper introduction and notes. Never before, I believe, had it been seen in the United States.

Those who have not read Sherwood's account of his interview with Ethan Allen at Castleton in the autumn of 1780 will find it sufficiently thrilling. It brings out in bold relief the figure of Ethan Allen as the dominant personality in Vermont affairs and the real originator and planner of her foreign intercourse. It goes far towards demolishing modern suppositions that he was less of a force than this or that other individual in the group which worked with him. This official report made by a Loyalist officer of the British army to General Frederick Haldimand, his Commander-in-Chief, covering an errand not unlike that which had resulted in Major André's death a month earlier, necessarily speaks perfect truth in recounting one of the most daring ex-

plots on Vermont soil in the Revolutionary War. Personally known to inhabitants of Vermont on the west side of the Green Mountains, banished by an act of the Vermont Legislature, punishable by flogging or death for returning to the State, Captain Sherwood, acting in behalf of and under the orders of General Haldimand, actually visited Ethan Allen at Castleton and fully discussed with him the same proposals as those that General Sir Henry Clinton and Colonel Beverly Robinson had already made.

Did Ethan Allen threaten Justus Sherwood with arrest and hanging as a spy? Not at all: Sherwood had come within the American lines with a flag of truce for the ostensible purpose of discussing an exchange of prisoners of war in response to a note written by Governor Chittenden to General Haldimand. When Sherwood broached the idea of Vermont's becoming a British province with the assurance that Vermont's land titles would be protected against New York's claims, did Ethan Allen dismiss him bag and baggage back to the British lines? Not at all. Only three months earlier Governor Chittenden had signed and forwarded to Congress a letter declaring that unless Congress would support Vermont's claims as an independent State, Vermont would have no reason to continue at war with Great Britain and would be at liberty to agree to terms of peace. If, as I believe, Ethan Allen drafted that letter, he had reason to feel that he had almost prophesied Sherwood's advances. Instead of rebuffing Sherwood, Allen replied that in the interest of the State of Vermont he would seriously consider Sherwood's proposal.

Allen went further. While he could not think of fighting his fellow countrymen, it was his expectation, as he announced to Sherwood, that if Congress should finally take a stand in favor of New York and against Vermont, Vermont would declare herself a neutral power. Should this excite a hostile move on the part of Congress he would take Albany with his brigade of militia and invite all friends of liberty in America to join him. In case of need he would then apply to General Haldimand for aid but was very doubtful whether General Haldimand could put an army adequate for that purpose into the field. Ethan indicated to Sherwood very definitely what sort of a government Vermont ought to have as a British dependency; said he would

send his brother Ira and Major Fay back with Sherwood so that they might examine General Haldimand's written offers, which Sherwood had hidden somewhere on the shore of Lake Champlain; enjoined upon Sherwood not to mention to Ira and Fay that the discussion had gone beyond a plan for Vermont's neutrality, and that neutrality was to be resorted to only if Congress persisted in refusing to uphold Vermont's claims to her lands and statehood. With careful instructions as to keeping lines of communication open, Ethan Allen dismissed his caller. On one point Haldimand and Ethan Allen completely coincided, namely, that all negotiations between them be declared off if Vermont secured representation in Congress.

Through Sherwood, Ethan Allen had been able to make an agreement for a temporary truce. This had the advantage of permitting the few Vermont troops to return to their homes and lighten the State's expense. It had the disadvantage of arousing in every quarter a suspicion that Vermont was coming to terms with Great Britain.

Ere long, Ira Allen and Joseph Fay, in Sherwood's company, started northward with official commissions to treat with Major Christopher Carleton of the British Army, at Crown Point or St. Johns, as to a cartel or written agreement for the exchange of prisoners. In fact, on the Vermont records, the exchange of prisoners is the only subject mentioned in relation to Sherwood's visit. On the third day of the journey, November 13, 1780, Sherwood produced from the place where he had hidden them the written proposals of General Haldimand. After his companions had read them, the paper was burned, a ceremony pointedly symbolic of the fact that all parties were playing with fire. Sherwood then proceeded to Quebec, while Ira Allen and Fay returned to their homes with the not very plausible excuse that the ice in Lake Champlain compelled them to postpone until spring their trip for the exchange of prisoners. They were indeed on thin ice. They were able, however, to confirm to Ethan Allen the truth of all that Sherwood had said of General Haldimand's offers.

Although the British had withdrawn to their winter quarters, the winter of 1780-81 was a hectic season as far as Vermont was concerned. In order to bring to a head the question of Vermont's relation to the thirteen American states, Chittenden sent letters

to the governors of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The letters to Connecticut and Rhode Island solicited their cooperation in securing Vermont's admission to the American union as a helpful war measure and indicated that unless the thirteen states would grant such admission Vermont might be forced to make terms with Great Britain. The letters to Massachusetts and New Hampshire covered the same points with the addition of a demand that Massachusetts and New Hampshire respectively cease to claim any part of Vermont. The letter to New York contained in curt language a demand that all claim to Vermont territory be relinquished and that the two states unite in defense against Canada. The sending of these five communications seems to have been promised by Ethan Allen when he talked with Sherwood at Castleton. Chittenden sent to General Washington a copy of each letter.

On top of all this correspondence Vermont annexed the western part of New Hampshire and took steps to annex a large slice of eastern New York. In both of these districts the Tory or Loyalist element was said to be considerable. In Vermont itself the appointment of Tories to public office became so much the practice as to excite comment. Vermont's statute for the banishment of Tories was repealed.

Ethan Allen had a very unpleasant winter. Before the season was over, rumors of clandestine negotiations between Vermont and Canada had spread over England, France and the Continent of North America. Two Vermont soldiers—Captain William Hutchins and Simeon Hathaway—had filed charges against Ethan Allen in the State Legislature. Since the papers have not been preserved, we cannot tell the precise nature of the accusations; but it has always been understood that they included specifications of disloyalty to the American cause in the War. The cases were never tried to a finish and Allen resigned his commission as a brigadier-general. He was in a tighter corner in March, 1781. He had just received from Colonel Beverly Robinson a second secret communication, like the first, when Seth Warner had asked him, face to face, if he had not been getting letters from the enemy. At first, Ethan lied about it, but finally admitted the fact. With quick wit and great adroitness he at once transmitted to the President of Congress a

copy of both letters with the true statement that they were the only ones received from Beverly Robinson and that they were never answered. He omitted to make any allusion whatever to his negotiations with Sherwood. Thus, as his honest and competent biographer well says, "he was deliberately trying to hoodwink Congress." His letter to the President of Congress was the one in which he intimated his willingness, should Fate be against Vermont, to "retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate caverns of the mountains, and wage war with human nature at large."

In May, 1781, ostensibly to make the belated cartel or agreement for an exchange of prisoners but actually to resume the discussion begun between Ethan Allen and Justus Sherwood, Ira Allen went to Canada with a flag of truce.

General Haldimand's suggestion, as submitted by Sherwood to Ethan Allen, had been that Vermont should enter on negotiations to become a British province. Ethan Allen's counter-proposal, as submitted to Sherwood, was that if Congress persistently refused Vermont's admission to the union of the states with full insurance of her land titles, Vermont would seek to become a neutral power: failing that, Vermont's recourse would be to seek other terms with Great Britain.

During the winter Vermont's standing with Congress or the other states had not improved. In fact, as far as New Hampshire and New York were concerned, Vermont had given offence by steps to appropriate portions of their territory. New York had withdrawn her troops from Skenesborough with the result of leaving Vermont more than ever exposed to the enemy. If expediency led Ethan Allen to treat with Sherwood in October, 1780, the expediency still existed in May, 1781.

Ira Allen on meeting Sherwood and other British representatives at Isle aux Noix made neutrality his objective. He said that, at the outbreak of the War, sentiment had inclined him and other Vermonters to the colonists' side, but that Congress had not been fair to Vermont and that expediency now made Vermont rather favor Great Britain. Vermont now wished neutrality. In any event, as he averred, he would not permit Congress to parcel out his Vermont lands. He insisted that neutrality was the sole subject (other than the stage-play of exchanging prisoners), on which he had been authorized to treat. His discussion

of neutrality soon received a check through a message from Haldimand saying "As I have not authority to make any treaty of neutrality, I cannot agree to any. The state of Vermont must either be united in constituted liberty with Great Britain, or continue at enmity with it." Ira Allen expressed regret that he could not discuss re-union, though he sincerely wished such an event, would use all his influence to bring it about, and was sure that his brother would do the same, but very greatly doubted whether the people of Vermont could be brought around to that view within a reasonable time. At present, he thought the Vermont Legislature had no idea of going further than neutrality. Nevertheless, if hostilities could be averted until after the adjournment of a summer session of Vermont's Legislature, he would see what could be done. To such suggestion Haldimand assented. Later, the stipulation was extended with the result that no hostilities between Vermont and the British occurred during the summer of 1781. Beyond question, Ira Allen had done very well—especially in view of the fact that the British officers were highly distrustful of him and of Vermonters generally and could not easily reconcile with good faith Ethan Allen's exhibition of Beverly Robinson's letters. On returning to Vermont, Ira Allen rendered to Vermont's General Assembly such a successfully false report of his activities in Canada that the members believed he had done nothing except to treat for the exchange of prisoners.

It may be well at this stage of my remarks to insert by way of parenthesis Mr. James Truslow Adams's comments on the situation. That brilliant historian said in 1925, in his *New England in the Republic*, "It is impossible now to probe the motives of all the group of Vermont leaders who were in the intrigue. When Ira Allen declared on his honor that he preferred union with Great Britain and implicated Ethan in that statement, he may or may not have been telling the truth. Neither of the brothers paid much attention to that when it served their purpose to ignore it. When Allen said bluntly that what he was after at all costs was to save his property, he was probably nearer the truth than at any other time in the negotiations."

Mr. Adams, when he decides that it is now impossible to probe the motives of all the Vermonters who were party to the Haldimand Negotiations, of course rejects the complaisant conclusion

reached by our Vermont historians; but he is neither helpful nor encouraging to one who seeks an answer to the question I put in my opening. Indeed, the only really helpful suggestion made to me by any modern historian in my effort to solve the problem is in an oral observation made by my valued and learned New Hampshire friend, Mr. George Baxter Upham, to the effect that the motives of the Vermont negotiators varied from time to time as the complexion of public affairs changed.

Important happenings in the summer of 1781, and in the autumn changed the complexion of affairs in Vermont several times. The British Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs was Lord George Germain, a blundering official with a fly-blown reputation as a former military officer. As a member of Lord North's administration he had the principal direction of the War, and to his ineptness was largely due America's success. In February, 1781, he had written with inexcusable looseness of language to General Sir Henry Clinton "The return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance, is an event of the utmost importance to the King's affairs." A copy or duplicate original of the letter containing this sentence was intercepted on its way to General Haldimand, got into the hands of American newspapers and appeared in the public prints in early August. Its publication disconcerted the Allens and their colleagues and it disconcerted Congress. Four years earlier, that shining young American statesman, Gouverneur Morris, had predicted that unless the land-title controversy between New York and Vermont was adjusted to Vermont's satisfaction the people of that State would be driven into the arms of the enemy. Now, it looked as if Morris's prediction were coming true. A committee of Congress considered that it now might be the part of wisdom to ask New York and New Hampshire to waive their respective claims to Vermont's territory as Massachusetts had already done. On August 7 and 20, 1781, Congress passed resolutions in favor of ascertaining on what terms Vermont might be admitted to the union of the states and pronouncing, as a prerequisite, that Vermont recede from her recent aggressions on western New Hampshire and eastern New York. Washington, who had already confessed to General Schuyler that the Vermonters had at least become a dead weight on the Revolutionary cause, felt so concerned that he sent a messenger to interview

Governor Chittenden personally. Chittenden's oral statements to the messenger, whatever they were, have been supposed to include allegations of Vermont's sympathy with the American cause, the desertion of the State by her neighbors, the necessity and right of treating with the British in order to prevent invasion by enemy troops, and Vermont's utter refusal to submit to New York. The events of the summer indicated that Vermont's standing with Congress had become somewhat better and that the accidental semi-disclosure of the Canadian intrigue had been the cause of the improvement and might serve as another string to Vermont's bow.

Joseph Fay, under the normal guise of a Vermont commissioner to exchange prisoners, passed from two to three weeks in July and August, 1781, on board the British vessel *Royal George* on Lake Champlain, in consultation with some of Haldimand's officers. A few prisoners were exchanged, but the time was chiefly spent in discussing means for making Vermont a British province. Fay, by letter, corroborated a letter Ira Allen had written to General Haldimand on July 10, predicting that Vermont would take care to render impossible any coalition between herself and Congress, that Vermont's September elections would put friends of the British Government completely in control of the State's policy, and that thus what he termed "a revolution" in favor of Great Britain would be accomplished. Fay also wrote that Ira Allen's letter had been read and approved in his own presence by the Governor and Council of Vermont and by Ethan Allen. Furthermore—and this is worth noting because it conflicts with a view accepted by most of our Vermont historians—Fay wrote General Haldimand on August 9, that the influential men in Vermont who were trusted in the British negotiations had "for the purpose of being assured of each other's fidelity, on being acquainted with Colonel Allen's proceedings, freely subscribed their names to a paper declaring their approbation." This "round robin" was precisely what General Haldimand had long wanted so that he might convince himself that he was not dealing merely with Ethan Allen, Ira Allen and Fay. Haldimand was incensed that Fay had not brought it with him.

The point I wish to make with regard to the round robin is not its existence or the fact that it was signed. All that was

known long ago. Its significance, from my view of the case, is that our Vermont historians have literally labeled it "a certificate for the protection of Colonel Ira Allen" and it cannot have been that. It recited that the British, being aware that Vermont was not in union with the United States, desired to have Vermont become a British province; that Vermont had no assurance of any help from the other states in case of British military invasion; that the British army in Canada was supposed to be greater than any Vermont could raise; that the signers therefore approved Ira Allen's communications to General Haldimand and Captain Sherwood "purporting an intention of this State's becoming a British province," and that such a course was necessary as a political measure to prevent British invasion, and in the meantime to strengthen the state against any insult until Vermont received better treatment from the United States or got a seat in Congress.

This attempt to run with the hare and follow with the hounds received the signed support of Governor Chittenden, Jonas Fay, Joseph Fay, Timothy Brownson, John Fassett, and Samuel Robinson. It was not a "certificate for the protection of Colonel Ira Allen" from British arrest: he had been within the British lines twice without it. It requires no imagination to perceive that it would have afforded him no immunity from General Washington or any other faithful officer of the American army. The paper was merely what Joseph Fay described it to be. As such, it was transmitted to General Haldimand in September, 1781, and he saw in it a substantially perfect reflection and adoption of the Vermont plan as outlined by Ethan Allen for Captain Sherwood in Castleton ten months earlier.

The Vermont elections in September, 1781, if not wholly fulfilling Ira Allen's forecast that the State control would pass completely into the hands of those friendly to a British re-union, did result in seating a Legislature which would spurn the advances of Congress. Immediately after the election, Ira Allen and Joseph Fay met the British commissioners at Skenesborough and proposed in writing that General Haldimand by proclamation should announce, while Vermont's Legislature was in session, the terms on which Vermont would be constituted and received as a British province. Such a proclamation, defining Vermont's western boundary at the Hudson River, its eastern boundary at

the Mason Line miles to the east of the Connecticut River, and promising the fulfillment of Ira Allen's lifelong dream of free trade with Canada, was actually drafted, although Haldimand determined to withhold its issuance until his agents should be satisfied that the time was ripe. He also sought the approval of Generals Sir Henry Clinton and James Robertson at New York. The former warned him that an Act of Parliament might be necessary to validate the plan sketched in the proclamation.

Our Vermont historians have generally been misled just at this point by an amazing misstatement of Ira Allen's in his *History of Vermont* to the effect that the Britishers not only suggested but insisted on this proclamation. The truth is that Fay and Allen themselves proposed and requested it.

Ira Allen and Joseph Fay had succeeded in convincing the British commissioners that Governor Chittenden and a considerable group of influential Vermont men were now making sincere efforts in the direction of a union with Great Britain, that about one-third of Vermont's inhabitants were favorably inclined, and that perhaps, with diligence and hard work, it would be possible to overcome the American Revolutionary party in Vermont, which, as they agreed, was headed by General Jacob Bayley of Newbury. The supposed task, as I conceive it to have been, was not for one-third to prevail against two-thirds. My understanding is that in Vermont at this stage was a large and increasing element without strong sympathies for either side in the War, settlers who had been attracted to move in because Vermont was no longer a real belligerent and because Vermont had therefore become a comparatively comfortable place of residence where army service was hardly compulsory and war taxes were unknown. Such an element would yield easily to an argument tending to show that Vermont, if converted into a Crown province, would become more tranquil and secure.

The October session of Vermont's Legislature came on at Charlestown within that part of New Hampshire which Vermont had appropriated. By a practically unanimous vote the General Assembly declared it incompatible with Vermont's interests to entertain the proposals tendered by the American Congress. So far, matters were working perfectly for the pro-British plan. Just at this juncture, however, two things, not on the programme and not expected, occurred. First, an accidental leak of informa-

tion respecting the secret arrangements between Vermont and General Haldimand; second, the rumor of the defeat and surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

It serves my convenience to take up the second of these incidents first. The report of Cornwallis's defeat and surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, was duly confirmed. With his fall fell the British cause in the American Revolution. The news affected profoundly both Congress and the people of Vermont. On the first rumors that Cornwallis was in difficulty, Ira Allen begged Haldimand to defer issuing his proclamation. Graphically and succinctly Colonel Barry St. Leger of the British army, who had been stationed at Ticonderoga, wrote to headquarters almost as an eye-witness: "The fatal news has already reached" the Vermonters, "together with the most peremptory demands from Congress, dictating the part they would require them to take. One part is in the highest consternation, dreading everything that tyranny can inflict, while the other is rioting and drinking throughout the country, on account of their late successes." Those of us who recall the popping of champagne corks and the tumult of the crowd in the cities on Armistice Day, 1918, can appreciate what Barry St. Leger described of the elated portion of the people. Fortunately, we do not find in our memories, any picture corresponding to that which St. Leger drew of the other and panic stricken individuals in the community. In fact, those unhappy mortals were crying before they were hurt. Though the American Congress was greatly emboldened by Cornwallis's defeat, the congressional mind had not quite reached a decision to deliver Vermont to New York.

Taking up, now, the leak in Vermont's diplomatic channels, it seems that while British and Vermont scouts were engaged in the pastime of making believe that they were still at war, a British sentry by mistake shot and killed Sergeant Tupper of the Vermont line. St. Leger gave the victim a decent burial and sent to General Roger Enos of Vermont poor Tupper's belongings with a note of regret and apology addressed to Governor Chittenden. General Enos, Colonel Fletcher and Colonel Walbridge of Vermont also sent the governor full written reports of the case. The messenger, who knew the main facts, did not fail to impart them to anybody he met on his trip from Ticonderoga to Charlestown. It was certainly "news," according to

all standards of journalism, that the commanding officer of troops in time of war should express to the Commander-in-Chief of the opposing army regrets for a casualty in the latter's ranks. The good people of Charlestown as well as the New Hampshire soldiers stationed at that point were amazed. Something had to be done. The expedient which Ira Allen says was hit upon was to fabricate then and there some letters purporting to have been sent by the respective Vermont officers. These forged letters, which of course contained nothing to show the amicable relations between Vermont and Great Britain, were read to the members of the Vermont Legislature while the letters that had actually been received were suppressed. We are given to understand that all hearers were satisfied that nothing out of the ordinary had happened and that all believed the talkative messenger to have merely conjured up a tale out of his own imagination. Such, at least, is Ira Allen's version of what took place.

Ira Allen's success in twisting a comic story out of a tragedy has pleased historians. I repeat the incident not because of its intrinsic importance nor to excite merriment, but as an introduction to the mention of the name of the man who, to help Governor Chittenden out of an awkward predicament, forged the letters which were palmed off as the veritable dispatches from Enos, Walbridge and Fletcher. The man was a young lawyer named Nathaniel Chipman, later Chief Justice of Vermont's Supreme Court. He had never been of Governor Chittenden's coterie or party: on the contrary, he was an opponent and was one of that school of political thought which later formed the Federalist party. His integrity, then as afterwards, was unquestioned. Those were among the reasons why he was engaged. The equally competent Vermont lawyers, Stephen Row Bradley and Stephen Jacob, were sitting as members of the Legislature and it was therefore too delicate a matter to ask either of them to help deceive their fellows. Bradley had once been invited to help in the Negotiations with Haldimand and had declined the employment. Micah Townsend, possibly the most accomplished and experienced lawyer in the State, was a son-in-law of the well-known Tory, Judge Wells, and had himself lately become a Tory. So Nathaniel Chipman, a comparatively new Vermonter, was more available and was retained.

Nathaniel Chipman's work, however essential to Governor Chittenden's peace of mind, was small in more than one sense of the word. To have taken it up at all Chipman must have been convinced, by hook or crook, that the outwardly friendly relations between Vermont and the common enemy did not mean Vermont's abandonment of the Revolutionary cause. The means of thus convincing the young lawyer were at hand in the shape of another and supposedly earlier of these convenient "round robins," gratuitously labeled by our kindly Vermont historians as a "certificate for the protection of Colonel Ira Allen," signed by Governor Chittenden, Samuel Safford, Moses Robinson and the five of their colleagues who had signed the paper sent to Haldimand. Unlike that other paper, the one I am now discussing did not place the seal of approval on negotiating to make Vermont a British province, but it did expressly approve Ira Allen's use of his best policy by feigning or endeavoring to make the British representatives believe that Vermont desired to make a treaty of peace with Great Britain. In short, it was a declaration of a scheme to defraud. Such a paper, if revealed in Canada, of course meant the immediate extinguishment of Ira Allen and all the efforts of his Vermont associates. Almost as quickly, by reason of the efficient spy system, would the disclosure of that paper in Vermont have been fatal to any sort of agreement with General Frederick Haldimand. The "certificate," wherever it might be published, was about as far removed from a certificate for Ira Allen's protection as any document, short of his own written confession of swindling, possibly could be. The paper could only have been of use to convince some singularly trusting and close-mouthed individual like young Nathaniel Chipman.

There was, I believe, another and larger piece of work for Nathaniel Chipman to do which made his employment more natural. I refer to the composition of the historically important letter signed by Governor Chittenden and addressed to General Washington under date of November 14, 1781. The circumstances under which this communication was drafted were highly embarrassing. General John Stark, who was perfectly acquainted with the people of Vermont and their soldierly qualities, had been put in command of the Northern Department in the late summer. Finding occasion to use Vermont

troops, if they were still available, he was made wary by the common gossip of clandestine understanding with the enemy and particularly by the peculiar sequel to Sergeant Tupper's death. Stark therefore wrote to Governor Chittenden a pointed letter asking permission to see the original of Colonel St. Leger's recent dispatch—a dispatch which the Governor dared not exhibit and had probably burned. The copy which St. Leger kept is still preserved. Nearly cornered, Governor Chittenden concluded to inform General Washington that Vermont was deeply attached to the American cause but on account of Vermont's dangerously exposed position it had been deemed prudent to seem to entertain with favor certain proposals which had come from General Haldimand. Governor Chittenden's letter did not stop there: it assumed to give a somewhat detailed history of the Negotiations. Time will not permit me to itemize the particulars in which this letter failed to square with the string of events as I have given them this evening. Suffice it to say that it wholly fails to mention the initial plan of action announced by Ethan Allen to Sherwood at Castleton in the autumn of 1780; it stated that Ira Allen and Joseph Fay went north with Sherwood solely to make a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and from first to last seeks to give the impression that Vermont's representatives never did more than to listen with politeness and pretend to be sympathetic when Sherwood and other British officers mentioned the idea of Vermont's returning to British allegiance.

Who wrote the letter which Chittenden signed and sent to Washington nobody knows. Every historian has regarded Chittenden as too illiterate to have written any considerable letter himself. This was an elaborate document. I do not believe it the work of any of Chittenden's coterie though some of them may have interpolated here and there several points and phrases. To a lawyer it suggests in sundry sentences and particularly in the use of certain words the handiwork of one bred to the law. The lawyer for the Chittenden coterie at this time was Nathaniel Chipman. My decided impression is that he, under the inducement of the "round robin" last referred to and on the strength of half or quarter truths orally supplied him by those who knew, innocently penned this inexact and misleading report to George Washington. I reached that con-

clusion before I noticed that this very letter had been included in the Appendix to the *Life of Nathaniel Chipman* along with other writings that are indubitably his.

Chittenden's letter put into words the hypothesis accepted by Jared Sparks and our Vermont historians. Its version reached Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, who swallowed it whole. On the other hand, the mind of Alexander Hamilton, alert, keen and clear, was apparently convinced that Vermont's relations with Great Britain were serious and were intended by the Vermont negotiators to be lasting. He remained of that conviction even when urging Vermont's recognition as the Fourteenth State six years later.

Washington, in his reply, did not indicate that he was convinced of Chittenden's sincerity. With unruffled urbanity Washington wrote of the Haldimand Negotiations: "I will take it for granted, as you assert it, that they were so far innocent that there never was any serious intention of joining Britain in their attempts to subjugate your country." Ethan Allen might have voted aye on that proposition. Washington then expressed disapproval of any negotiation whatever with the enemy. Those observations were by no means the chief burden of his letter. Hard-headed, sagacious and well-informed military leader that he was, he wanted Vermont enlisted on his side instead of being the "dead weight" which Vermont, as he rated her, then was. He tried to outbid Haldimand by predicting Vermont's immediate admission to the union of states if Vermont would but cede back the annexed portions of New Hampshire and New York. In this he succeeded. Vermont's Legislature at the earliest opportunity precipitately took Washington at his word, relinquished all claim to the areas snatched from her neighbors on the east and on the west and once more asked Congress to admit Vermont. As on similar previous occasions the application failed. The War had been won. Congress was less nervous, and reverted once more to the old policy of putting Vermont off. Vermont had weakened her own position with no gain. If the coercion of Congress had been one of the aims of the Negotiations with the British, that aim had come to naught.

General Haldimand sent word to Vermont in the spring of 1782 that he was entitled to know whether the defeat of Cornwallis had put an end to her desire to become a British province.

If not, he requested detailed information as to what she had been trying to do with Congress. By this time Ethan Allen's stock of patience was exhausted. The clock which he had ostentatiously wound in Sherwood's presence at Castleton had struck. To Haldimand, Ethan Allen wrote that Vermonters were now fully enraged with Congress and that he would do all in his power to make Vermont a British province. Ethan Allen's eruptive fever may not have been sufficiently contagious to start an epidemic in the State; but the fact is that when Congress, later in the year, gave further offence to Vermont we hear of a band of Connecticut Valley Vermonters, with Stephen Row Bradley as their ringleader, drinking healths to King George and damnation to Congress. When a detachment of Continental soldiers entered Vermont to apprehend Judge Wells and Judge Knoulton on the charge of forwarding dispatches to and from the British in Canada, Ethan and Ira Allen enabled Wells and Knoulton to flee in safety to the British lines. In the case of Judge Knoulton's escape Governor Chittenden seems to have lent his friendly assistance to the fugitive.

As late as July 11, 1782, in the City of Quebec, an agent—some believe him to have been Ira Allen: others believe him to have been Jacob Lansing—submitted in writing to General Haldimand a proposal in the alleged behalf of Governor Chittenden and his Council that Vermont would now unite with Great Britain on condition that the treaty be kept secret until troops could be raised to defend the alliance. Haldimand was inclined to acquiesce. He had, however, already received official word that the British ministry was disposed to seek peace in America generally. Presently there came to him from England some instructions which, in addition to discountenancing force, seemed also to forbid steps for any separate treaty with Vermont. A temporary treaty between the United States of America and Great Britain was agreed on in England in the autumn of 1782, and the definitive treaty signed a year later, whereby Vermont found herself within the territory relinquished to the United States.

Friendly exchanges between Vermont and Canada—principally relating to free trade—still continued although no longer stimulated by the pressure of war and although General Haldimand had expressed his belief by letter to Ira Allen, in April, 1783, that the

time when reunion of Vermont with Great Britain was possible had passed forever. It was to Canada rather than to any part of the United States that Vermont now turned for advice and friendly guidance.

Five years later, Ethan Allen, in writing to Lord Dorchester under date of July 16, 1788, reminiscently pictured the policy of the Vermonters in the Haldimand Negotiations thus: "In the time of General Haldimand's command, could Great Britain have afforded Vermont protection, they would readily have yielded up their independency and have become a province of Great Britain." Even after Vermont's admission as the Fourteenth State of the American Union upon the payment of a paltry \$30,000 to secure the cancellation of New York's claims, we find Governor Chittenden still cheerfully reverting to the same topic. In conversation with Secretary Jarvis of the Province of Quebec who had been his overnight guest at Williston in January, 1795, the Governor asserted that should Congress become the champion of France in war with Great Britain, Vermont would pursue the course that she did in 1781 when Joseph Fay "was three weeks on board a King's vessel in Lake Champlain negotiating a union with Canada," —a negotiation which, as Chittenden added, was frustrated only by Cornwallis's defeat.

I have left myself only a moment in which to state my final conclusions, but in the remaining time which your patience accords me I wish to say that on the records presented I do not agree with the opinion of Jared Sparks and our Vermont historians. I think that as the Revolutionary War progressed, several of Vermont's leaders, when prospects of recognition of Vermont's statehood by Congress were discouraging, had serious intention of the State's becoming a British province. I think generally that they kept faith with the British. They did, no doubt, frequently predict too strongly the ease or speed with which the result could be accomplished and no doubt they waited at times to see which way a cat would jump; but generally, in their intercourse with General Haldimand's agents, they conducted themselves without deception or duplicity and with the frankness which General Haldimand's candor and courtesy deserved. To this extent I agree with Ira Allen, the one Vermont historian who had first-hand knowledge of the facts and the one Vermont historian who would have us believe the Negotiations

to have been carried on consistently with "principles of honor." I feel equally sure that it is impossible to say the same of Vermont's dealings with Congress and General Washington.

What is there that is startling or unnatural in such a judgment or in its implications? Vermont's interests were never quite the same as those of the original thirteen states. Unlike them all, Vermont had not a foot of seaboard: she had no transatlantic or coastwise commerce to lose or to protect. Unlike them all, her land titles were seriously questioned: a strong ally to help defend them was well-nigh indispensable. Great Britain offered to be such an ally. Four years before Ethan Allen and Justus Sherwood had laid the foundation for Vermont's return to British allegiance, Ira Allen, in the first of his celebrated political pamphlets called "*Miscellaneous Remarks*," had preached most vigorously to his fellow Vermonters and the rest of America that as far as the greater part of the State was concerned, Vermont's interests lay not in annexation to New York, Massachusetts or New Hampshire but rather to the Province of Quebec in order to facilitate the natural course of trade. To his dying day he was ever of the belief that all that part of Vermont in which his family and Chittenden were interested was naturally tributary to Canada. Moreover, the Allens—Ethan and Ira—had no enthusiasm for a republican form of government. In this they may have differed from the rest of the group surrounding Chittenden as the titular head; but all the Vermonters of the period—even the group of Revolutionary patriots headed by Warner and Bayley—must have been more or less affected by the once common colonial theory that the United States were united for the War only and that for the future the unit of sovereignty on the American Continent would be each separate state. "It is ever to be remembered," wrote President Dwight of Yale, more than a century ago, "that the Colonists were much less attached to each other than to their Parent Country. Even for the purposes of common defense they had never been cordially and fairly united. The degree of union which subsisted during the Revolution was the result, not of affection, but of fears and burdens only. At the moment when these fears were ended they resumed their alienation; and were advancing fast towards open hostility when new burdens and fears forced them to adopt the present form of government. Even under this they are very

imperfectly united." If these states in temporary union were distrustful of each other, so much the more were they likely to be of a State never within their union. So much the more, also, was that State likely to be distrustful of them.

Forgetfulness of just such facts, forgetfulness that our present spirit of nationality and union did not exist until that New England giant, Daniel Webster, in the years from 1830 onward, with his genius and Titanic strength, had hammered it home and riveted it upon the hearts and minds of the people of the North, has led our Vermont historians to hold up their hands in horror at the thought of Ethan Allen, Thomas Chittenden and their intimates contemplating the conversion of Vermont into a British province. If Allen and Chittenden thought that that way lay the prudent course for Vermont it was at least legitimate for them to steer in that direction; for we cannot deny that "the earliest legal obligation that any colonist owed, after the severance of his allegiance to the British Crown, was to his State." If the welfare of the State required reunion with Great Britain then, according to law, a citizen must be doing right in working to such end as long as the State was unbound to the Federal Union. There was, in my opinion, pretty solid ground on which Allen and Chittenden could, in good faith, seek affiliation with Great Britain if they were convinced that Congress intended to victimize Vermont in the interest of New York. To try to make Vermont ready for any contingent outcome of the War was but natural forethought on the part of her leaders.

If, as I feel, it might have been legally right, as it might have been morally right for the Vermont leaders eventually to constitute their State a British province and thus to side with the eighty thousand or more colonists who left the states and went to the Canadian Provinces to live, would common sense have sanctioned it? For one thing, it would instantly have populated Vermont with a large portion of those capable and determined Loyalists who founded the present civilization of Ontario and New Brunswick. It would have enhanced land values and brought in desirable citizens.

But, sixty years ago, our historians, Eliakim Walton and Governor Hall, scoffed at the suggestion that Vermont could have been anything but a loser as a British dependency. "A separate province," exclaimed these eminent gentlemen, "was

the *bauble* with which Vermont was to be bought . . . a *bauble* . . . when compared with the free and independent State which Vermont aspired to be . . . !” Well, if comparisons are still the order of the day, let us take out our map of continental North America. Let us note that the great Dominion to the north of our northern boundary is almost comparable in area with that of the United States. Let us note Canada’s wealth and strength. Let us bear in mind that her institutions, if not freer than ours, are at least as free. Let us recall how in the Great War of the present century the sons and the daughters of Canada answered the call of the mother country. Stand in contemplation for a moment on the heights of Quebec’s Citadel, looking down on long stretches of the mighty St. Lawrence and bearing in mind that the ground under one’s feet is a stronghold of that power which—to use Webster’s magic words—“has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.” Reflect on these things, and, though we are thankful that we belong to the United States, we cannot honestly say to ourselves that it is “a baublé” to be a part of the British Empire.

ANNUAL MEETING 1931

THE ninety-third annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms in the State Office Building at Montpelier, January 20, 1931. Twenty-nine members were present, President Spargo presiding.

The record of the previous meeting was read and approved.

The reports of the Librarian-Curator, and the Treasurer were read and accepted.

Pursuant to the notice given at the previous annual meeting, it was voted to correct an omission in the record of the Constitution adopted January 14, 1930, by the addition after the first sentence of Article Three, of the following words: "These seven shall constitute the Board of Directors."

It was voted as the sense of the Society that the word "persons" in the Constitution shall be interpreted as including corporations.

The adoption of the Constitution, at the last annual meeting was confirmed.

A vote of thanks was extended to Miss Kanaly for her efficient work as Librarian-Curator; and to Mr. Clement for his editing of the *Proceedings* of the Society.

Notice was given that an amendment to the By-Laws, changing the method of electing members, would be proposed at the next annual meeting.

The President was authorized to act with the Commission on Vermont Traditions and Ideals for the preservation of such documents and articles of historical interest as the Commission may discover in its work.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President

John Spargo

Vice Presidents

Harold G. Rugg

Mason S. Stone

Dorman B. E. Kent

Shirley Farr

Secretary

Phil S. Howes

Treasurer

F. Whitney Harrington

The resignation of four members was accepted.

Two members were transferred from active to life membership. Thirty-seven persons were elected to active membership.

After a recess, the meeting was addressed in the Hall of the House of Representatives by Henry S. Wardner, of Windsor. The meeting was then adjourned till the first Tuesday in April.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

During the recess of the annual meeting the President called a meeting of the Board of Directors, of whom all but Miss Farr were present. As the Library Committee had reported an accumulation of duplicates and other material which it was not desired to keep, it was voted that the Library Committee be authorized to dispose of such material as may be for the best interest of the Society. Mr. Kent was appointed to consult with the proper persons to secure action by the State toward obtaining a portrait of President Chester A. Arthur, to be hung in the State House. The meeting was adjourned.

STANDING COMMITTEES

The President has appointed the following committees, as provided in Section 5, Article 1, of the By-Laws:

Finance Committee

Benjamin Gates, Montpelier
Frank C. Partridge, Proctor
Miss Shirley Farr, Brandon
F. Whitney Harrington, Montpelier
John Spargo, Old Bennington

Committee on Library and Exhibits

Harold G. Rugg, Hanover, N. H.
Mason S. Stone, Montpelier
Arthur W. Peach, Northfield
Dorman B. E. Kent, Montpelier
John Spargo, Old Bennington
Margaret Kanaly, Librarian,
Montpelier

Publication Committee

John Spargo, Old Bennington
Walter H. Crockett, Burlington
Vrest Orton, Brattleboro
Henry Steele Wardner, Windsor
Harold G. Rugg, Hanover, N. H.
John Clement, Editor, Rutland

Committee on Extension Work

Miss Shirley Farr, Brandon
Edward S. Marsh, Brandon
Phil S. Howes, Montpelier
Arthur H. Keyes, Rutland
Percy G. Smith, Montpelier

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GIFTS

During the past year, gifts have been received from a large number of persons interested in the Society and its work. These gifts include some of the military equipment of General Stannard, books, manuscripts, letters, fugitive publications, and even a thimble. They are all of interest, and many of them are of importance. The donors are: J. Dow Adams, The Adjutant General, Mrs. Mary E. Bates, The Brandon Free Public Library, Mrs. Horace Brown, The Burlington Free Press, Mary R. Cabot, Alice G. Chandler, The Chittenden County Trust Company, John Clement, The Connecticut Historical Society, Walter H. Crockett, Walter Rice Davenport, D. R. Davis, John W. Drown, D. Brewer Eddy, The E. & T. Fairbanks Company, Mary P. Farr, Fred A. Field, Henry Fletcher, Mrs. George D. Ford, Mrs. E. J. Fullam, Stannard Post G. A. R., The Harbor Press, Inc. Mrs. Clarence Haskins, Mrs. Ruth K. Hastings, Mrs. H. E. Hawkings, Mrs. Mary R. Hollister, Rev. Louis I. Holway, Phil S. Howes, Matt B. Jones, Rebecca R. Joslin, Mrs. C. A. Keeler, Robert J. Kilpatrick, The Lackawanna Historical Society, Mrs. Louis E. Laffin, Bella C. Landauer, Frank J. Ledrie, The Lyndon Institute, J. L. McAllister, Medallic Art Company, Mrs. William S. Meek, Mount St. Mary's Academy, The New Hampshire Historical Society, Bessie C. Newkom, Albert Osborn, Mrs. Eunice Patterson, The Town of Peacham, Harold G. Rugg, The St. Johnsbury Academy, Edmund L. Sanderson, Vermont Academy of Saxton's River, The Schenkfelder Church of Pennsburg, Pa., Searle and Bachman Company, Mary J. Simpson, School Committee of Somerville, Mass., John Spargo, The State

Street Trust Company of Boston, Mrs. Mary Stickney, Arthur F. Stone, James W. Tyson, jr., United Fruit Company, Vermont Congregational Conference, W. H. Wanzer, Charles W. Welch, Mrs. Emma C. White, Frank H. Wilder, Mrs. Charles S. Wilson, Ira Wright.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT, 1930

Mr. President and members of the Society:

The past year has not been marked by any unusual events. The routine work of the library has been carried on in the customary manner. There have been added to the collection in new titles and new editions—280 volumes; 389 volumes have been recatalogued; 402 pamphlets and articles temporarily catalogued; 80 lots of manuscript read and 8,195 cards typed.

The buying of historical and genealogical material has continued in such manner as our funds permitted. Among our purchases of special interest are: a land map of John Henry Lydius (an article on which appears in No. 4 of this year's Proceedings); the proclamation of Gov. Chittenden dated July 18, 1781, relating to the extension of Vermont's boundary line to the Hudson river and north to Canada. (Vol. 2 of the Governor and Council mentions only a printed copy of this important document); a file of the minutes of the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in Vermont.

Among our gifts received are: the collection of civil war relics formerly the property of the Stannard Post of the G. A. R. located at Burlington which have been deposited with the Society. This includes several articles of clothing once belonging to General Stannard and his saddle and pistols. Owing to lack of space only a few of

these articles are on display. A miscellaneous group of manuscript pamphlets and currency has been received from Mr. Matt B. Jones; also two bound volumes of typed copies of letters written from the front during the civil war by Roswell Farnham, a lieutenant-colonel in the army and later governor of Vermont. Rev. Walter R. Davenport has presented a typed bound volume of the history of Newbury academy. The "Memorandum and journal" of Isaac Tyson, jr., dated 1833 was the gift of James W. Tyson, jr. Clippings, scrapbooks and manuscript notes on masonry and state history compiled by George F. Koon were given by his daughter, Mrs. Ruth K. Hastings. Thirteen catalogues of the Vermont scientific and literary institute of Brandon dating from 1834-1855 were the gift of the Brandon free public library. Various bits of Vermontiana have been received from Mr. Harold G. Rugg. Last week the Society received as a loan from Thomas G. Chittenden, the watch and initialed silver waistcoat buttons of his great great great grandfather, Thomas Chittenden, the first governor of Vermont. Several documents in the Governor's handwriting are to be forwarded to us, later.

The State Library has continued to deposit in our library such books belonging to its collection as seem fitted to our needs. The total number of volumes now on deposit is 2,910.

The Vermont society of Colonial Dames has purchased its usual allowance of genealogical books under the direction of our Book Committee. I regret to report the death of Mrs. George H. Smilie in 1930 who served for several years as book buyer for that organization. Through Mrs. Smilie the relations of the two societies were harmonious and it was due to her efforts that the book buying

appropriation of the Colonial Dames was increased \$50 annually.

The biennial issue of the Proceedings has been superseded by the quarterly issue of this publication. "The History of the Town of Marlborough" by Ephraim H. Newton, edited by John Clement, came from the press in April. Aside from the subscription of members, the sale of this book has been conducted through The Tuttle Company.

During the past year an inventory of the books has been taken. This had not been done for some time and we felt that an accurate check on our records was necessary.

According to a count kept during the summer months, the number of visitors to the room has been larger than ever.

The library equipment has been supplemented by the purchase of a vacuum cleaner. This will assist materially in the care of the books and exhibits. Nearly all the shelving space is taken and we feel keenly the need of more room. Our storage room in the attic of the State Office building across the street is crowded with exhibits and books and the stock room in the same building shared with the State library is nearly full. Where the Society will keep its accumulations in the near future is a problem that should receive serious consideration.

There has been one change in the staff since the last meeting: Miss Ruth Ladd, assistant librarian resigned in September, 1930; the position is filled by Miss Ruth M. Taylor. The librarian attended the New England Library Meeting at Swampscott in June and spoke before the district library meeting at Bradford in July.

Respectfully submitted,

MARGARET KANALY

Librarian-Curator.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31 1930

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand as per annual statement Dec. 31, 1929			\$290.59
Dues—Life	\$200.00		
Back	104.00		
Future	56.00		
1930	660.00	\$1,020.00	
Other Funds—Proceedings	24.28		
Barnard	87.94		
Marlboro	64.00		
Edmunds	877.84		
Miscellaneous	263.09	1,317.15	2,337.15
			<u>\$2,627.74</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Mont. Nat. Bank	771.44		
Office supplies	33.53		
Miscellaneous	62.55		
Salary	404.34		
Edmunds Fund	308.40		
Tel. & Tel.	3.80		
Postage	104.14		
Express	16.35		
Barnard History	72.05		
Marlboro History	300.00		
Travel & Expense	65.17		
Books, etc.	249.75	\$2,391.52	
Balance on hand Dec. 31, 1930		236.22	\$2,627.74

RESOURCES

Check Account	\$236.22		
Savings Account	729.80		
Mont. Nat. Bank Sav. account			
No. 4194 Trust Fund	3,383.42		
Edmunds Fund	845.77		
Mont. Sav. Bank & Trust Co.			
Sav. account No. 24813,			
Dewey Fund	6,354.69		
Interest	425.13		
Resources as of Dec. 31, 1929			\$11,975.03
Increase during 1930			11,131.77
			<u>\$843.26</u>

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP LIST

Life Members Elected

Miss Mary E. Waterman
Col. William G. Wilgus

Active Members Elected

Nettie M. Pomeroy Akeley
J. Ashton Allis
Mrs. Edgar Boody
Mrs. Elsie B. Chatterton
Henry Wood Clement
Mrs. Henry Wood Clement
Charles E. Crane
John Baker Evans
Mrs. M. Zoe Farr
John H. Field
Helen Hartness Flanders
Charles Spooner Forbes
Miss Marion Gary
J. Lawrence Gilson
Cynthia Minnie Gorton
Robert A. Hanley
William H. Hill
Howard L. Hindley
Mrs. Sara Hawks Huling
Earl C. Kelley
Bella C. Landauer
A. Edward MacDougall
Clara Chipman Newton
Ellen Huldah Newton
Mrs. L. Augusta Norton
Andrew Oatman
Wilmond W. Parker

Margaret Clement Rhodes
Herbert R. Roberts
Malcolm Day Rudd
Dr. Lewis Mann Silver
Henry G. Smith
Holland Lincoln Smith
Herman W. Vaughan
Frank D. White
Guy Wilson
Percy M. Williams

Resigned

Sherburn C. Hutchinson
Mary J. Foster
Annette C. Dimock
William A. Davison

Deceased

Harry M. Cutler
Senator Frank L. Greene
Allen Hazen
Byron S. Hurlbut
Hugh J. M. Jones
Dr. William B. Mayo
Olin Merrill
George B. Shepard
Frank A. Skilton
Henry N. Stevens
William B. C. Stickney
William M. Towle
Charles W. Whitcomb

LIST OF MEMBERS

HONORARY MEMBERS

Calvin Coolidge	Northampton, Mass.
Charles H. Darling	Burlington, Vt.
Prof. Charles D. Hazen	42 East 75th Street, New York City
William C. Winslow	525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

John Dearborn	Malden, Mass.
Edward R. Houghton	Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.
George D. Lord	Hanover, N. H.
Henry H. Noble	Essex, N. Y.

LIFE MEMBERS

Edwin A. Bayley	18 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Laura Morse Bayley	Newbury, Vt.
Mrs. Lucia W. Bayley	18 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Horace S. Brown	Springfield, Vt.
Jean C. Bull	Whitford, Pa.
Miss Mary R. Cabot	Brattleboro, Vt.
George H. Catlin	232 Monroe Ave., Scranton, Pa.
Herbert C. Comings	Richford, Vt.
Mrs. Annie F. David	310 Gowen St., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Mary M. Edmunds	841 S. Orange Grove Ave., Pasadena, Cal.
Allen W. Evarts	72 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Martha C. Fabyan	10 Marengo Park, Springfield, Mass.
Fanny B. Fletcher	Proctorsville, Vt.
Eugene N. Foss	34 Oliver St., Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lena P. Hartness	Springfield, Vt.
Alice Frances Hayward	R. F. D. No. 1, Vergennes, Vt.
Charles Fred Heartman	612 Middlesex Ave., Metuchen, N. J.
S. A. Howard	Rutland, Vt.
Fred A. Howland	Montpelier, Vt.
Phillip B. Jennings	192 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Alba B. Johnson	1521 Packard Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Matt B. Jones	30 Ledges Road, Newton Center, Mass.
A. Atwater Kent	Ardmore, Pa.
Wade Keyes	Reading, Vt.
Darwin P. Kingsley	346 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Frank Lord	270 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
Hall Park McCullough	No. Bennington, Vt.
Mrs. Helen C. Merrill	Enosburg Falls, Vt.
Frank C. Partridge	Proctor, Vt.
Emily Dutton Proctor	Proctor, Vt.
Mrs. Frederika Proctor	10 Kalorama Circle, Washington, D. C.
Mortimer R. Proctor	Proctor, Vt.
Redfield Proctor	Proctor, Vt.
Harold G. Rugg	Hanover, N. H.
Jean W. Simpson	East Craftsbury, Vt.

John Spargo	Old Bennington, Vt.
William W. Stickney	Ludlow, Vt.
Mrs. Helen M. Strohecker	2109 Genesee St., Utica, N. Y.
Mrs. Emily P. Telfer	3020 Garber Road, Berkeley, Cal.
Harry B. Thayer	New Canaan, Conn.
Charles E. Tuttle	Rutland, Vt.
Riford R. Tuttle	Rutland, Vt.
Henry S. Wardner	160 Front St., New York, N. Y.
Mary E. Waterman	Williamstown, Vt.
J. Watson Webb	Shelburne, Vt.
James H. Whelden	Brandon, Vt.
Frank J. Wilder	28 Warren Ave., Somerville, Mass.
Col. William G. Wilgus	20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y.
Daniel Willard	B. & O. R. R. Offices, Baltimore, Md.
Susan Kellogg Wright	Westminster, Vt.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Daniel L. Adams	209 Union St., Northfield, Minn.
John P. Adams	Montpelier, Vt.
Mrs. Nettie M. Pomeroy Akeley	224 Canal St., Brattleboro, Vt.
Joseph D. Allen	200 Hicks St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
J. Ashton Allis	7 Hanover St., New York, N. Y.
George P. Anderson	25 Cumberland St., Boston, Mass.
Wallace G. Andrews	Montpelier, Vt.
Walton F. Andrews	Manchester Depot, Vt.
F. C. Angell	Randolph, Vt.
Francis J. Arnold	Burlington, Vt.
Flynn G. Austin	195 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Warren R. Austin	43 Williams St., Burlington, Vt.
John M. Avery	Montpelier, Vt.
Fred H. Babbitt	Bellows Falls, Vt.
John E. Babbitt	Bellows Falls, Vt.
Mrs. Ella B. Bailey	Montpelier, Vt.
George C. Bailey	Montpelier, Vt.
Guy W. Bailey	Burlington, Vt.
LeRoy W. Baldwin	8 East 70th St., New York, N. Y.
Beatty L. Balestier	Dummerston, Vt.
Rev. Henry L. Ballou	Chester, Vt.
Mrs. Lucy W. Barber	Montpelier, Vt.
Douglas M. Barclay	Barre, Vt.
John Barrett	Grafton, Vt.
Dr. Alfred B. Barter	129 Crescent Ave., Plainfield, N. J.
Edward L. Bass	Bethel, Vt.
Mark D. Batchelder	1028 Jefferson Bldg., Peoria, Ill.
Madison C. Bates, Dept. N. J. Pre Legal Law School,	Rector St., Newark, N. J.
Dr. William H. Beardsley	30 Orchard St., Springfield, Vt.
H. C. Belcher	Proctor, Vt.
Mrs. Nellie C. Beyé	Lower Waterford, Vt.

Franklin S. Billings	Woodstock, Vt.
Dr. Arthur B. Bisbee	Montpelier, Vt.
Levi H. Bixby	Montpelier, Vt.
Bixby Memorial Library	Vergennes, Vt.
D. H. Bixler	Proctor, Vt.
Andrew J. Blackmore	204 Washington St., Barre, Vt.
Joseph W. Blakely	Montpelier, Vt.
Fred Blanchard	Montpelier, Vt.
George L. Blanchard	Montpelier, Vt.
Helen W. Blanchard	Montpelier, Vt.
Herbert H. Blanchard	Springfield, Vt.
Almon I. Bolles	Bellows Falls, Vt.
Mrs. Margaret L. Boody	Englewood, N. J.
Samuel B. Booth	Rock Point, Burlington, Vt.
Guy H. Boyce	Proctor, Vt.
Thomas J. Boynton	Everett, Mass.
Richards M. Bradley	Brattleboro, Vt.
Elbert S. Brigham	St. Albans, Vt.
Dr. Homer C. Brigham	Montpelier, Vt.
A. A. Brooks	Room 421, S. Pac. Bldg., Houston, Texas
Edgar R. Brown	St. Johnsbury, Vt.
Helen T. Brown	9 Tyler St., Brattleboro, Vt.
James Brown	Quechee, Vt.
Dr. John C. Brown	1010 Schweiter Bldg., Wichita, Kan.
Joseph G. Brown	Montpelier, Vt.
Mrs. Laura C. Brown	Quechee, Vt.
Martin A. Brown	131 State St., Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Blanche B. Bryant	2 Circular St., Springfield, Vt.
Mrs. Sarah A. Bryant	Windsor, Vt.
Robert B. Buckham	Box 186, Salem, Mass.
Frank L. Bugbee	Ludlow, Vt.
Perley Rufus Bugbee	Hanover, N. H.
Lawrence Bullard	Windsor, Vt.
Dan D. Burditt	Pittsford, Vt.
Lucy C. Burditt	Rutland, Vt.
Mrs. Ruth Payne Burgess	Athenwood, Newport, R. I.
Fred M. Butler	Rutland, Vt.
John S. Buttles	Montpelier, Vt.
Charles I. Button	Middlebury, Vt.
Benjamin C. Buxton	Middletown Springs, Vt.
Timothy E. Byrnes	89 Broad St., Boston, Mass.
Daniel L. Cady	368 Main St., Burlington, Vt.
Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Cady	368 Main St., Burlington, Vt.
Edward A. Cahoon	Roswell, N. M.
Dana S. Carpenter	Middletown Springs, Vt.
George B. Carpenter	White River Jct., Vt.
Helena B. Carpenter	Enosburg Falls, Vt.
Robert M. Catlin	Franklin Furnace, N. J.

Newman K. Chaffee	Rutland, Vt.
Henry A. Cheney	61 Pleasant St., Rutland, Vt.
Thomas C. Cheney	Morrisville, Vt.
Thomas G. Chittenden	3243 Hunter Blvd., Seattle, Wash.
Albert B. Clark	Readsboro, Vt.
Dr. Edward R. Clark	Castleton, Vt.
Isaiah R. Clark	54 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.
Col. Osman D. Clark	Montpelier, Vt.
Robert C. Clark	Montpelier, Vt.
Elizabeth Wood Clement	Clementwood, Rutland, Vt.
Henry Wood Clement	Rutland, Vt.
Mrs. Henry Wood Clement	Rutland, Vt.
John P. Clement	Rutland, Vt.
Walter J. Coates	North Montpelier, Vt.
Dr. Gardner N. Cobb	36 Pleasant St., Worcester, Mass.
James C. Colgate	44 Wall St., New Yrk, N. Y.
Dr. Edwin A. Colton	Montpelier, Vt.
John M. Comstock	Chelsea, Vt.
Harrison J. Conant	Montpelier, Vt.
Charles M. Corry	Hartford, Vt.
John P. Corcoran	Barre, Vt.
Frank C. Corry	Montpelier, Vt.
Frank M. Corry	Montpelier, Vt.
William F. Corry	Montpelier, Vt.
Charles E. Crane	114 Main St., Brattleboro, Vt.
Walter H. Crockett	Burlington, Vt.
Charles H. Cross	125 Summer St., Boston, Mass.
Addison E. Cudworth	So. Londonderry, Vt.
Richard S. Currier	Barre, Vt.
Porter H. Dale	Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.
Elmer A. Darling	East Burke, Vt.
Rev. Walter R. Davenport	67 E. State St., Montpelier, Vt.
William S. Davenport	1555 Highland Ave., Rochester, N. Y.
Mrs. Marion F. Davies	Rabbit Hill, Lower Waterford, Vt.
E. J. Davis	Chester, Vt.
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Rev. Ozora S. Davis	5725 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stephen R. Davis, M. D.	16 New Ocean St., Lynn, Mass.
Wayne G. Davis	20 Oakwood Place, Delmar, N. Y.
Leon W. Dean	308 So. Prospect St., Burlington, Vt.
Theron S. Dean	6 Masonic Temple, Burlington, Vt.
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George G. Dewey	1446 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
James F. Dewey	Quechee, Vt.

Maurice W. Dewey	Montpelier, Vt.
Paul Dillingham	Berkly Heights, N. J.
Gilbert Harry Doane	University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
Carroll W. Doten	Mass. Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
Moses H. Douglass	Brandon, Vt.
Guy DuVal	31 Nassau St., New York, N. Y.
William H. Dyer	3 Winter St., Montpelier, Vt.
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William H. Eldridge	Twin Falls, Idaho
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Zenas H. Ellis	Fair Haven, Vt.
John Baker Evans	77 Hawthorn Road, Braintree, Mass.
Samuel C. Evans	Riverside, Cal.
William M. Evarts	37 Wall St., New York, N. Y.
Jeremiah M. Evarts	Windsor, Vt.
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Torry Everett	1221 Arden Road, Pasadena, Cal.
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Mrs. M. Zoe Farr	Monkton, Vt.
Miss Shirley Farr	Brandon, Vt.
Frederick H. Farrington	Brandon, Vt.
Henry L. Farwell	Montpelier, Vt.
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Charles K. Field	31 E. 39th St., New York, N. Y.
Edward D. Field	Montpelier, Vt.
Ethel C. Field	Mendon, Vt.
Fred T. Field	Room 500, 84 State St., Boston, Mass.
Henry F. Field	Rutland, Vt.
John H. Field	Saturn Club, Buffalo, N. Y.
William Field	R. F. D. No. 2, Rutland, Vt.
William H. Field	Mendon, Vt.
Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Arlington, Vt.
Mrs. Helen Hartness Flanders	Smiley Manse, Springfield, Vt.
Ralph E. Flanders	Springfield, Vt.
Frederick G. Fleetwood	Morrisville, Vt.
Ernest R. Fletcher	Hardwick, Vt.
Prof. Kemp R. B. Flint	Northfield, Vt.
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Charles Spooner Forbes	St. Albans, Vt.
Col. Herbert S. Foster	North Calais, Vt.
Joseph W. Fowler	Manchester Depot, Vt.
Edward S. French	165 Summer St., Springfield, Vt.
J. H. Frenier	39 West Street, Rutland, Vt.

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Seth N. Gage	Ascutneyville, Vt.
John E. Gale	Guilford, Vt.
John R. Gardner	5 Fulton Ave., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Mrs. Sally Field Gardner	74 Lincoln Parkway, Buffalo, N. Y.
Marion Gary	Rutland, Vt.
Benjamin Gates	Montpelier, Vt.
Walter B. Gates	Burlington, Vt.
Mary E. Giddings	Hubbardton, Vt.
James M. Gifford	60 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Abbott Gilfillan	Barnet, Vt.
J. Lawrence Gilson	Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Waldo F. Glover	12 Reservoir St., Winchester, Mass.
John W. Gordon	Barre, Vt.
Horace F. Graham	Craftsbury, Vt.
Warner A. Graham	Bellows Falls, Vt.
Grand Lodge of Vermont	% A. S. Harriman, Burlington, Vt.
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Ernest T. Griswold	Bennington, Vt.
Maud Safford Guthrie	751 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
James M. Hamilton	Rutland, Vt.
Mrs. Minnie A. LaPointe Hanks	106 Van Reypen St., Jersey City, N. J.
Robert A. Hanley	R. F. D. No. 1, Castleton, Vt.
Walter H. Hard	Manchester, Vt.
Will E. Harlow	Montpelier, Vt.
F. Whitney Harrington	Montpelier, Vt.
James Hartness	Springfield, Vt.
William D. Hassett	Press Club, Washington, D. C.
John C. Haswell	P. O. Box 980, Dayton, Ohio
Lyman S. Hayes	Bellows Falls, Vt.
Prof. Tracy E. Hazen	Barnard CollegeColumbia University, New York, N. Y.
Charles H. Heaton	Montpelier, Vt.
Rev. Arthur W. Hewitt	Plainfield, Vt.
Mary Elizabeth Hewitt	Auburn, Mass.
Edwin L. Hildreth	Brattleboro, Vt.
Arthur H. Hill	Isle LaMotte, Vt.
Dr. James S. Hill	Bellows Falls, Vt.
William H. Hill	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Howard L. Hindley	Herald Bldg., Rutland, Vt.
Alice Hinman	55 Pleasant St., Middlebury, Vt.
T. D. Hobart	Pampa, Texas
George M. Hogan	St. Albans, Vt.
F. Cabot Holbrook	Brattleboro, Vt.
Arthur J. Holden	Bennington, Vt.
Julia A. Holland	Rutland, Vt.
Hermon D. Hopkins	Montpelier, Vt.
William H. Hopkins	72 Willett St., Albany, N. Y.
Mrs. Ida Bushey Horton	Montpelier, Vt.

Alberta N. Houghton	58 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass.
Harry S. Howard	267 So. Union St., Burlington, Vt.
Eugene E. Howe	209 Western Ave., Albany, N. Y.
Frank E. Howe	Bennington, Vt.
Harland B. Howe	Burlington, Vt.
Mildred B. Howes	Montpelier, Vt.
Phil S. Howes	Montpelier, Vt.
Guy Hubbard	2459 Lee Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
W. S. Hulett	Rutland, Vt.
Mrs. Sarah Hawks Huling	215 North St., Bennington, Vt.
Morton D. Hull	105 LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
Dean G. K. Hunt	Montpelier, Vt.
Ray W. Huse	Montpelier, Vt.
Henry H. Jackson	Barre, Vt.
Horatio N. Jackson	Burlington, Vt.
Merle Johnson	243 W. 34th St., New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Sarah A. Johnson	17 Highland Ave., Barre, Vt.
Lt. Col. Wait C. Johnson	2017 Kalorama Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Walter E. Jones	Waitsfield, Vt.
Fred A. Keegan	16 Corse St., Montpelier, Vt.
Mrs. C. A. Keller	Westboro, Mass.
Earl C. Kelley	25 Pearl St., Burlington, Vt.
Frank M. Kendall	99 State St., Montpelier, Vt.
Rollin W. Kendall	Reading, Vt.
Dorman B. E. Kent	Montpelier, Vt.
Ira R. Kent	2 Park St., Boston, Mass.
Arthur H. Keyes	Rutland, Vt.
Harvey R. Kingsley	Rutland, Vt.
Earle S. Kinsley	Rutland, Vt.
Rev. Frank J. Knapp	Montpelier, Vt.
William B. Ladd	Enosburg Falls, Vt.
Genieve Lamson	Randolph, Vt.
Robert Lamson	Randolph, Vt.
Mrs. Bella C. Landauer	440 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.
George B. Lane	1200 First Nat. Soo Line Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.
Sarah E. Lane	R. F. D., Middlebury, Vt.
Charles Alfred Lang	Montpelier, Vt.
Frank E. Langley	Barre, Vt.
Charles F. Langworthy	1604 17th St., Washington, D. C.
Mary E. P. Lansing	Hartland, Vt.
Amey Ann Lapham	Dorset, Vt.
Leon D. Latham	Milton, Vt.
William H. Lathrop	Route 2, Arlington, Vt.
Rev. F. Barnaby Leach	Seamans Church Institute, Tampa, Fla.
Harthan F. Leslie	Montpelier, Vt.
Prof. Leo Rich Lewis	Box 36, Tufts College, Medford, Mass.
Nelson H. Loomis	Blackstone Hotel, Omaha, Nebraska
Willis F. Lougee	737 County St., New Bedford, Mass.
Herman S. Lovejoy	32 Highland St., New Haven, Conn.

Walter C. Low	420 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.
Frank E. Low	Montpelier, Vt.
Albert M. Lyon	567 Walnut St., Newtonville, Mass.
A. Edward MacDougall, Queensboro Corp. Bldg.,	Jackson Heights, N. Y.
Mrs. Frances C. Mackenzie	Woodstock, Vt.
George E. Mann	Quechee, Vt.
Mrs. Marion E. Marble	Woodstock, Vt.
Rev. Alba M. Markey	Groton, Vt.
Edward S. Marsh	Brandon, Vt.
William P. Marsh	Dreamwold Road, Egypt, Mass.
Frederick C. Martin	Bennington, Vt.
Willard S. Martin	Plainfield, Vt.
R. W. McCuen	Federal Bldg., Burlington, Vt.
William L. McKee	Montpelier, Vt.
William McKillip	Burlington, Vt.
Hugh McLellan	Champlain, N. Y.
James F. McNaboe	123 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.
Carl A. Mead	55 Wall St., New York, N. Y.
Emory A. Melendy	So. Londonderry, Vt.
Rev. Harlan G. Mendenhall	277 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.
Garfield H. Miller	White River Jct., Vt.
John E. Miller	Bellefontaine, Ohio
Mrs. Lottie E. R. Mills	110 E. State St., Montpelier, Vt.
Dora Otis Collins Mitchell	Naval Station Guantanamo Bay, Cuba
Prof. Will S. Monroe	Couching Lion Farm, Waterbury, Vt.
David T. Montague	73 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Rutherford H. Moore	Waterbury, Vt.
Col. Charles F. Morse	Care of Surgeon General, Washington, D. C.
Clarence E. Moulton	Montpelier, Vt.
Orra E. Mounette	350 S. Oxford Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Charles A. Munroe	231 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Mary C. Munson	Manchester, Vt.
Robert E. Mussey	3748 Utah St., San Diego, Cal.
Rawson C. Myrick	Montpelier, Vt.
Clara Chipman Newton, 39, The Alexander,	Walnut Hills, Cincinnati, Ohio
Ellen Huldah Newton	5667 Belmont Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
Rev. William S. Nichols	Montpelier, Vt.
Mrs. L. Augusta Norton	Vergennes, Vt.
Frank A. Nutt	86 Babcock St., Brookline, Mass.
Mrs. Mary G. Nye	R. F. D. No. 4, Montpelier, Vt.
Andrew Oatman	Cambridge, N. Y.
Vrest Orton	Brattleboro, Vt.
Charles Parker	Montpelier, Vt.
Harry E. Parker	Bradford, Vt.
Wilmond W. Parker	Bethel, Vt.
Harold Guy Parkhurst	37 Burnham Ave., Rutland, Vt.
Frank T. Parsons	Northfield, Vt.
Arthur W. Peach	6 Prospect St., Northfield, Vt.

Frederick S. Pease	Burlington, Vt.
Howard E. Pease	White River Jct., Vt.
Mary E. Pease	164 Cherry St., Burlington, Vt.
Hamilton S. Peck	Burlington, Vt.
William N. Peck	Montpelier, Vt.
John Pell	Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Stephen H. P. Pell	Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y.
George H. Perkins	Burlington, Vt.
Harold P. Perkins	Care of National Shawmut Bank, Boston, Mass.
Martha W. Perkins	White River Jct., Vt.
James Kent Perley	Enosburg, Vt.
Porter G. Perrin	Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.
Stephen K. Perry	Hartford, Vt.
George A. Pettigrew	Sioux Falls, S. D.
Hugh Phillips	Montpelier, Vt.
Charles T. Pierce	Montpelier, Vt.
Loren R. Pierce	Woodstock, Vt.
George S. Pingree	220 Walnut St., Brookline, Mass.
William Steele Pingree	Hartford, Vt.
Charles A. Plumley	Northfield, Vt.
Julian A. Pollard	55 East Alvord St., Springfield, Mass.
Park H. Pollard	Proctorsville, Vt.
John L. Porter	33 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
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Thomas R. Powell	Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
George M. Powers	Morrisville, Vt.
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Rollin L. Richmond	Rutland, Vt.
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Lillian A. Scott	Hotel Lincoln, 1222 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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 179 N. Prospect St., Burlington, Vt.
 Woolson Block, Springfield, Vt.
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 Windsor, Vt.
 S. Strafford, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
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 Perkins Road, Rutland, Vt.
 St. Albans, Vt.
 Montpelier, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
 Middlebury, Vt.
 253 Washington St., Providence, R. I.
 Middlebury, Vt.
 Orwell, Vt.
 Burlington, Vt.
 Newbury, Vt.
 White River Jct., Vt.
 42 Rutland Square, Boston, Mass.
 Burlington, Vt.
 15 Mulberry St., Springfield, Mass.
 485 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.
 Rutland, Vt.
 No. Bennington, Vt.
 Williamstown, Vt.
 Woodstock, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
 Proctor, Vt.
 Woodstock, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
 6 Acacia St., Cambridge, Mass.
 Bethel, Vt.
 Chelsea, Vt.
 Rutland, Vt.
 Fairlee, Vt.
 Hotel Brunswick, Boston, Mass.
 Montpelier, Vt.
 St. Johnsbury, Vt.
 Bartonsville, Vt.
 Montpelier, Vt.

THE VERMONT CENSUS OF 1800

THE Vermont Historical Society has under consideration plans for the publication of the census of the State made in 1800, and never before published. This document gives, for each town in Vermont, the names of all the heads of families, and the number of males and females, under different age groups, comprising each family. 25,604 names are listed. As this gives definite official information of the whereabouts of so large a number of persons, its value to genealogists and historians is obvious.

The original document, in the archives at Washington, has been handled so much that it is partly illegible. There are two photostat copies, made several years ago; and these in turn are becoming so worn that they will soon be unavailable for inspection. The only way in which the record can be preserved and made accessible is by publication.

Under the supervision of Vice-President Dorman B. E. Kent, the data has been carefully typed, and placed in alphabetical order, to prepare it for printing.

The Vermont Historical Society is not in a position to finance such an undertaking without the assurance of sufficient sales to repay the printing charges. It therefore plans to ask for subscriptions, and if these are received in sufficient quantity, publication will proceed; otherwise, not.

It is proposed to make a convenient, legible, and durable volume, well printed on paper that will last for centuries, and bound so as to stand frequent handling. An index, and tabulations, will make the material easy to examine and use.

Because of typographical difficulties, and the necessity for durable materials, as well as because of the small number of copies which can probably be sold, the price is fixed tentatively at \$20.00, before publication, to subscribers. After publication the price of any copies beyond those necessary to fill the subscriptions, will be raised. Members of the Vermont Historical Society, who subscribe before publication, are entitled to the usual discount of one third less than the price to the general public.

Members who desire to enter their subscriptions, payable on delivery, or those who wish to have circulars sent them, are requested to write to the Vermont Historical Society at Montpelier.

A WORD FROM PRESIDENT SPARGO

THE annual meeting at Montpelier was full of inspiration. The business meeting was pervaded by a consciousness of progress, of virility, of success. Several who were present have written expressing their realization and appreciation of this fact. It was evident that the Vermont Historical Society is a living force, successfully carrying on a work of genuine importance.

There were many favorable comments upon the great improvement in the appearance of the Society's room. One of the oldest members of the Society said that the room had never looked so well. Of course some of the improvement was due to the thorough repainting that was done last year—thanks to our good friend Mr. Dwinell, to whom we are constantly indebted for splendid cooperation unobtrusively given. To Miss Kanaly must be given the credit for the splendid arrangement of the exhibits, which was a delight to us all. Hampered by lack of space and by the heterogeneous and in large part antiquated equipment, Miss Kanaly has done wonders in making our collections attractive and interesting.

Rarely in the long history of the Society has there been delivered a more important address than that by Henry Steele Wardner, which appears in this issue of the *Proceedings*. A memorable contribution to the elucidation of one of the strangest and least understood chapters in our history, it is a historical paper of outstanding importance which must be considered by every succeeding writer upon that period of our history. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Wardner has said the last word upon the subject, or that his judgment is final. It is to be hoped, indeed, that his views will be sharply challenged, and that the entire subject will be discussed upon a higher plane than ever before.

It was fitting that Mr. Wardner should be presented by the Governor of Vermont. Governor Wilson knows the importance of the work of the Vermont Historical Society, of which he is an active member. He has been distinguished by his appreciation of the bearing of history upon present day problems. Few men in the State have done more to encourage local historical research than Governor Wilson. His participation in our meeting was a graceful tribute to Mr. Wardner; more than that, it was symbolic of the close relation there is between the work of the Society and the profoundest tasks of State.

